

# The 1911 Revolution and “Mongolia”: Independence, Constitutional Monarchy, or Republic

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## Abstract

The movement in Mongolia after the 1911 Revolution is often written within the context of the Mongolian Declaration of Independence, but this article analyzes various reactions from pro-independence forces and constitutional monarchy proponents, as well as republican advocates, irrespective of such categories as Mongolia and Inner Mongolia. It examines how they responded to *Republic of Five Races*, a slogan under which the Republic of China was founded.

## Keywords

Bogd Khaan Government, Inner Mongolia, Declaration of Independence, Constitutional Monarchy, Republic, Republic of Five Races

## Introduction

In discussions of the 1911 Revolution and Mongolia, the main focus has often been the Mongolian Declaration of Independence.<sup>1</sup> On December 1, 1911, at the beginning of the 1911 Revolution, Mongolia proclaimed its independence from the Qing Dynasty like other provinces in inland China. This movement was mainly lead by Khalkha nobles, who established the Bogd Khaan Government headed by the 8th Jebtsundamba Khutugtu. The importance of the Declaration of Independence is obvious considering that Mongolia eventually attained

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<sup>1</sup> Tatsuo Nakami, “A Protest against the Concept of the ‘Middle Kingdom’: The Mongols and the 1911 Revolution,” in *The 1911 Revolution in China: Interpretive Essays*, ed. S. Eto and H. Z. Schiffrin (University of Tokyo Press, 1984). “Xinhai Revolution and Mongolia.” Mamoru Hagihara, “20 Seiki Chugoku Shakai no Hendou to Nihon” [The Structural Change of Chinese Society in the 20th Century and Japan], *Kokusai Waakushoppu: 20 Seiki Chugoku no Kouzouteki Hendou to Shingai Kakumei Houkokushu* [International Workshop: The Structural Change of Chinese Society in the 20th Century and Xinhai Revolution Reports], 2002.

independence after many twists and turns. Today it is the only independent nation among the many regions under control of the Qing Dynasty.

The Mongolian Declaration of Independence was different from declarations of other provinces. While others foresaw future integration to China, Mongolia's declaration rejected this notion. The Bogd Khaan Government actually consisted of some Eastern Khalkhas at first and it took some time to control the Western Khalkhas and all the regions in Outer Mongolia.

The 1911 Revolution is not currently regarded in Mongolia as a significant element of Mongolia's independence. The proactive movement for independence is seen as already having started before the 1911 Revolution, and the revolution was merely one of the triggers of the independence process. Mongolians assume that the Mongolian Declaration of Independence would have taken place regardless of the Revolution.<sup>2</sup> This assumption is supported by the fact that the Declaration of Independence was made within two months of the Wuchang Uprising. In August 1911, a missionary was sent to St. Petersburg to request the Russian Empire to stop the "New Policies" in the late Qing Dynasty and provide support for independence.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Declaration of Independence should be recognized as a precondition of the current nation of Mongolia, discussing the 1911 Revolution and "Mongolia" only in terms of the Mongolian Declaration of Independence is insufficient, considering the actual situation at the time. Therefore, this article discusses not only the Declaration of Independence made by some Khalkhas, but also how the rest of Mongolia responded to the 1911 Revolution, as well as how the relationship among the Bogd Khaan Government, the Republic of China, and the rest of Mongolia developed. I would like to take this opportunity, as the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, to illustrate the whole picture surrounding the 1911 Revolution and "Mongolia".

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<sup>2</sup> Batsaikhan, one of the leading modern historians in Mongolia, went no further than saying that the revolution in China on Oct. 10, 1911 turned out to be an "advantageous situation for Mongolians to fulfill their desires." О. Батсайхан, Монголын тусгаар тогтнол ба Хятад, Орос, Монгол гурван улсын 1915 оны Хиагтын гэрээ (1911-1916) (Улаанбаатар, 2002), 35.

<sup>3</sup> Liu also said "the sequence of events in 1911 can correct a misunderstanding that only after the Chinese Revolution of 1911 overthrew the Manchu rule did the Mongols decide to set themselves free in order to avoid submission to a new Chinese overlordship. The reality is that the Mongolian princes took steps toward secession months before Chinese revolutionaries stumbled into their Wuchang uprising in early October. Therefore, the Urga independence of 1911 was not an impulsive reaction to the Chinese revolutionaries' fatal attack on the Qing government but an accumulative effect resulting from a long and complex process of erosion of the Qing system. Xiaoyuan Liu, *Reins of Liberation: An Entangled History of Mongolian Independence, Chinese Territoriality, and Great Power Hegemony, 1911-1950* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2006), 7.



**Figure 1: Mongolia during the 1911 Revolution**

The map originally appeared in Makoto, Tachibana, *Bogudo Haan Seiken no Kenkyu: Mongoru Kenkokushi Josetsu 1911-1921* [Study on the Bogd Khaan Government: History of State-Building in Mongolia, 1911-1921], vii, (Tokyo: Kazama Shobo, 2011).

This article considers the scope of “Mongolia” as *Waifan* (外藩, Entourage) Mongolia and *Neishu* (内属, Directly Ruled) Mongolia during the Qing Period for the sake of convenience. It is this very scope where the newly formed Bogd Khaan Government declared independence, called for participation in the regime, and insisted on approval of the territory of Mongolia.<sup>4</sup> In other words, this is the scope where Mongolian people recognized “Mongolia.” *Waifan* Mongolia refers to banners governed by hereditary nobles called *Zasags* (Chieftain of Banner) such as six leagues of Inner Mongolia (Jirim, Juu Uda, Josot, Shilin Gol, Ulaanchab, and Ikh Juu) consisting of 49 Inner banners (Inner *Zasags*), four aimags of *Khalkha* (Setsen Khan, Tüsheet Khan, Sain Noyon Khan, and Zasagt

<sup>4</sup> In negotiations concluding the Treaty of Kyakhta that began in September 1914, the Mongolian representative claimed sovereignty over “*Waifan* Mongolia, which included 150 banners of Outer *Zasags* such as *Khalkha* aimags, 49 banners from 6 leagues of Inner *Zasags*, Barga, Solon, Ööld, and Orochon, which belonged to *Hölönbuir*, and the banners of *Uriankhai*, *Khasag*, *Dariganga*, *Chakhar*, *Sürüg*, and *Tümed*, based on the boundary stipulated in Mongol laws established by the Qing Government’s *Lifan Yuan*. Орос Хятад, Монгол гурван улсын 1915 оны Хиагтын гэрээ: Өдөр тутмын тэмдэглэл, Эмхэтгэж тайлбар бичсэн О. Батсайхан (Улаанбаатар, 1999), 72.

Khan) consisting of 86 banners (Outer Zasags), Khovd, Xinjiang, Qinghai, Alsha, and Ejine. Neishu Mongolia refers to banners controlled by officials rather than Zasags, which include eight banners of Chakhar, two banners of Guihuacheng Tümed, and Hölönbuir, etc.<sup>5</sup>

## 1. From the 1911 Revolution to the Abdication of the Qing Emperor

### (1) To Be Independent or Not

The independence of Mongolia was declared in Ikh Khüree (now Ulaanbaatar) in Outer Mongolia on December 1, 1911, at the beginning of the 1911 Revolution. On December 29, the Bogd Khaan Government, consisting of five ministries (internal affairs, foreign affairs, military affairs, finance, and judicial affairs), and headed by the 8th Jebtsundamba Khutughtu, was established. This was three days before the establishment of the Republic of China, which later served as an important rationale in justifying the Mongolia's independence.

It has been often argued that resistance to the "New Policies" that had started in 1901, and a new immigration policy that promoted the immigration of Han peasants to develop remote regions under the name of modernization, served as the background of the Mongolian Declaration of Independence.<sup>6</sup> In July 1911, a meeting to discuss how to respond to the "New Policies" was held. In attendance were mainly Khalkha nobles, who decided to send a missionary consisting of Khanddorj, Tserenchimed and Khaisan to the Russian Empire to ask for support in stopping the "New Policies".

At the same time, Güngsangnorbu, Zasag of Kharchin Right Banner in Josot League, was implementing various reforms by promoting his own new policies within the banner.<sup>7</sup> Also, Amarlinggui, Zasag of Khorchin Left Wing Rear Banner in Jirim League, started the "Mongolian Business Company" and attempted reforms together with Mongolian nobles living in Beijing, including Nayant of Sain Noyon Khan aimag of Khalkha, Güngsangnorbu, and Palt, King of Torguud.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> It has been proposed that we should not use the category "Direct Ruled Mongolia," but rather regard these areas as intermediates between Waifan and the Eight Banners. Akira Yanagisawa, "Shincho no Hakkisei to Mongoru" [Qing Dynasty's Eight Banners and Mongolia], in *Mongorushi Kenkyu: Genjou to Tenbou* [Study on Mongolia's History: Current Situation and Foresight] (Tokyo, Akashi Shoten: 2011), 289-290.

<sup>6</sup> Mei-hua Lan, "China's 'New Administration' in Mongolia," in *Mongolia in the Twentieth Century: Landlocked Cosmopolitan*, ed. S. Kotkin and B. A. Elleman (M. E. Sharpe, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Bailadougeqi, "Xinhaigeming Yu Gongsangnuoerbu," *Qingshi Yanjiu* [Studies on Qing History] (2002).

<sup>8</sup> Bingming Wang, "Menggu Shiye Gongsu Shimo" [Chronicle of Mongolia Business

Reactions to the “New policies” were not necessarily uniform and were related to different reactions within Mongolia to the 1911 Revolution, as will be discussed later in this article.

The Cabinet of the Bogd Khaan Government was as follows: Interior Minister was Da Lam Tserenchimed, who was Jebtsundamba Khutughtu’s close confidant and a member of the missionary to St. Petersburg; Foreign Minister, Finance Minister and Justice Minister were Khanddorj, Chagdarjav, and Namsrai, respectively, all of whom were from Tüsheet Khan aimag; Minister of Military Affairs was Gombosüren from Setsen Khan aimag. The cabinet mainly consisted of nobles from Tüsheet Khan aimag and Setsen Khan aimag in East Khalkha; nobody was selected from Sain Noyon aimag or Zasagt Khan aimag in West Khalkha.

A report written on December 28, 1911 by Lieutenant-Colonel Rokuro Izome, who was then stationed in Harbin, stated that “among Mongolian nobles, only a few joined the Declaration of the Independence, including six nobles from Tüsheet and Setsen Khan. All nobles from Sain Noyon and most nobles from Zasagt were not involved at all.”<sup>9</sup> This report can be considered reliable as it was based on a conversation that took place in Verkhne-Udinsk on December 19 with Sando, the last Manchu Amban of Ikh Khüree, who had been expelled from Ikh Khüree.

G. E. Morrison<sup>10</sup> also wrote a letter to D. D. Braham<sup>11</sup> on January 5, 1912 that said, “On the 13th December I telegraphed to you that the rebellion had extended to Mongolia. The eastern Khalka princes had declared for autonomy, and I said that the movement would extend to the western Khalka princes, whose capital is Uliassutai.”<sup>12</sup> This correspondence shows that Morrison considered the Declaration of Independence to have been made by nobles of East Khalkha. T. A. Rustad from the British and American Tobacco Company, who stopped by Ikh Khüree, also wrote to Morrison on November 5, 1912: “The men in north Mongolia against this new rule, were Sain-Noying-Khan and Tsa-Tsek-Ta-Khan. Tsa-Tsek-Ta-Khan ‘died’ about the first of June, many said he was poisoned by the

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Companies], *Neimenggu Shehui Kexue* [Inner Mongolia Social Science] (1984).

<sup>9</sup> Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, Reference Code: B03050661700 (from the 6th image), “Shinkoku Kakumei Douran no Sai Mouko Dokuritsu Sengen Narabini Shinkoku Seifu ni taishi Gyousei ni Kansuru Youkyu Ikken [Mongolian Independence and an Administrative Demand against the Qing Government upon the Tumultuous Chinese Revolution] (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Japan).

<sup>10</sup> Australian-born journalist who stayed in Beijing as correspondent of *The Times* and became an advisor to the Presidential Office Building in August 1912.

<sup>11</sup> Correspondent of *The Times* who resided in St. Petersburg and became Overseas Senior Editor in 1912 after being stationed in Constantinople.

<sup>12</sup> Hui-min Lo, *The Correspondence of G. E. Morrison I* (Cambridge University Press, 1976), 689-693.

God..”<sup>13</sup> H. G. C. Perry-Ayscugh, who visited West Mongolia, including Uliastai and Khovd, as part of the Lyuba, Russian Consul to Ikh Khüree in 1913 also wrote, “The people of these aimaks (Sain Noyon and Zasagt Khan) are singularly apathetic and indifferent to the Declaration of Independence, and have not yet declared themselves on the side of the Hu-tuk-tu of Urga (Ikh Khüree).”<sup>14</sup> Based on the above information, there is no doubt that the Mongolian Declaration of Independence was mainly lead by two aimags in East Khalkha. The position of Prime Minister was created in July 1912 and was assumed by Namnansüren from Sain Noyon Khan aimag. This selection implies that the Bogd Khaan Government integrated the aimags of West Khalkha following the Declaration of Independence.

If only part of Mongolia had moved toward independence, what position did the rest of Mongolia hold? They must have been paying attention to the revolution even though they had not declared independence from the Qing Dynasty.

## **(2) To Support a Constitutional Monarchy or Not**

It is widely known that vigorous discussions over whether a constitutional monarchy would continue the Qing Dynasty or a republic would topple the Dynasty took place before and after the 1911 Revolution. During these discussions, Mongolian nobles stationed in Beijing organized the “Federation of Mongolian Nobles,” which insisted on the continuation of the Qing Dynasty and expressed their intention to move toward independence if the Emperor abdicated and the country shifted toward a republic.<sup>15</sup> The Federation included the above mentioned Nayant, Amarlinggui, and Güngsangnorbu. It is obvious that the Federation supported a constitutional monarchy, as Japanese Minister to Beijing, Hikokichi Ijuin, reported to Foreign Minister Kosai Uchida as follows on December 30 in telegram No. 760: “In Beijing, over 80 Mongolian nobles resolved to support a constitutional monarchy in the 24<sup>th</sup> meeting and announced to the current cabinet that all of Mongolia should be separated from the Qing Dynasty, following the example of Ikh Khüree’s independence, if the Dynasty agrees to a republic.”<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Hui-min Lo, *The Correspondence of G. E. Morrison II* (Cambridge University Press, 1978), 47-53.

<sup>14</sup> Henry G. C. Perry-Ayscugh and R. B. Otter-Barry, *With the Russians in Mongolia* (J. Lane the Bodley Head, 1914), 209-210.

<sup>15</sup> Bingming Wang, “Qingchao Fuwangzhiji Zhujing Menggu Wanggong de Zhengzhi Huodong” [Political Activities of the Mongolian Aristocracy Residing in Beijing upon the Ruination of the Qing Dynasty], *Journal of Inner Mongolia University Humanities and Social Science Edition* (1985).

<sup>16</sup> Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, Reference Code: B03050661600 (from the 26th image), “Shinkoku Kakumei Douran no Sai Mouko Dokuritsu Sengen Narabini Shinkoku Seifu ni taishi Gyousei ni Kansuru Youkyu Ikken” [Mongolian Independence and an Administrative Demand against the Qing Government upon the Tumultuous Chinese Revolution] (Diplomatic

Naniwa Kawashima sent a telegram to Vice Chief of Staff, Yasumasa Fukushima, on January 17, 1912 reporting, "Most Inner Mongolian nobles have an idea to go back to homeland and together take independent defensive measures once a democracy is established; this movement is hard to contain."<sup>17</sup> The same day, Major General Nobuzumi Aoki sent a telegram to Chief of Staff, Yasukata Oku, stating, "The cabinet is planning to have a meeting on the 19<sup>th</sup> with Mongolian nobles and the Minister of State to further discuss the abdication. If the Emperor abdicates, Mongolian nobles intend to move for independence."<sup>18</sup> Aoki reported that Inner Mongolian nobles and other Mongolian nobles who participated in the meeting expressed the intent to move toward independence if a republic were established and the Emperor abdicated.

In Confidential Telegram No. 261 sent by Hikokichi Ijuin to Foreign Minister Kosai Uchida on December 23, Ijuin reported that Palt,<sup>19</sup> King of Torguud, who was the most spirited opponent of a republic along with Nayant, said, "Aimags of Mongolia originally held equal status with the Manchu and only chose to be controlled by the Manchu Dynasty under certain conditions. Therefore, if the Manchu Dynasty fell, its relationship with Mongolia should naturally be discontinued, and Mongolia would have no choice but to recover the original status of independence."<sup>20</sup> Ijuin continued, "If the Manchu Dynasty collapsed and a republic was to be established, Mongolian nobles, who originally had relationships with the Manchu Dynasty and belonged to it, would not be obliged to continue the relationship with a government organized by the Han."<sup>21</sup> Those nobles in Beijing insisted that Mongolia had subjugated itself to the Manchu

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Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan).

<sup>17</sup> Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, Reference Code: B03050166900 (from the 22nd image). "Kakkoku Naisei Kankei Zassan/Shina no Bu/Mouko Dai Ikkan" [Collection of Miscellaneous Articles Regarding Domestic Affairs of Various Countries/China Section/1<sup>st</sup> Volume on Mongolia] (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan).

<sup>18</sup> Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, Reference Code: B03050625700 (from the 41st image). "Shinkoku Kakumei Douran ni Kansuru Jouhou/Rikugun no Bu Dai Gokan" [Information about Uprisings in the Chinese Revolution], (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan).

<sup>19</sup> Bohaishouchen, *Xinhai Geming Shimoji* 2 [Chronicle of the Xinhai Revolution, Volume 2] (Taipei: Wenhai Chubanshe, 1969), 11.

<sup>20</sup> Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, Reference Code: B03050661600 (from the 28th image), "Shinkoku Kakumei Douran no Sai Mouko Dokuritsu Sengen Narabini Shinkoku Seifu ni taishi Gyousei ni Kansuru Youkyu Ikken" [Mongolian Independence and an Administrative Demand against the Qing Government upon the Tumultuous Chinese Revolution] (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan).

<sup>21</sup> Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, Reference Code: B03050661600 (from the 13th image), "Shinkoku Kakumei Douran no Sai Mouko Dokuritsu Sengen Narabini Shinkoku Seifu ni taishi Gyousei ni Kansuru Youkyu Ikken" [Mongolian Independence and an Administrative Demand against the Qing Government upon the Tumultuous Chinese Revolution] (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Japan).



and the relationship should be discontinued once the Manchu Dynasty fell and the Han government was established. This position is different from that which declared independence from the Qing Dynasty after criticizing its policy shift toward Mongolia. Moreover, at an Imperial Conference held on January 19, 1912, Güngsangnorbu opposed the abdication of the emperor, while some Manchu imperial family members supported a republic.<sup>22</sup>

Mongolian nobles in Beijing tried to defend the Qing Dynasty even though independence had already been declared in Outer Mongolia, but this was not a choice between “Manchu” and “Mongolia.” From this it can be seen that not all Mongolian nobles immediately supported the Mongolian Declaration of Independence.

### **(3) To Approve a Republic or Not**

Lastly, the option to accept a republic should be discussed. The Revolution was joined by a few Tongmenghui members including Yun Heng from Guihuacheng Tümed Banner, which was included in the above definition of Mongolia. However, these members did not have much influence as they were not nobles.

The attitudes of Mongolians from the 1911 Revolution to the abdication of the Qing Emperor can be loosely categorized as follows: some areas of Khalkha moved toward independence, Mongolian nobles in Beijing defended the Qing Dynasty, and the rest kept silent. There was no unified Mongolian position. Just like reactions of the Han to the 1911 Revolution were various, Mongolian reactions were also various. Therefore, one could misunderstand the actual situation when discussing the reaction of Mongolia to the 1911 Revolution if Mongolia is seen as one ethnic group or one area.

Different reactions within Mongolia were attributed to physical and psychological distances (including customs and marriages) and consequent differences in the degree of control by the Qing Dynasty and social environments. Most nobles in Beijing were from Inner Mongolia (especially East Inner Mongolia), which was relatively close to Beijing. Moreover, they often had inter-ethnic marriages with the imperial family of the Qing Dynasty. Meanwhile, it can be presumed that Outer Mongolia, far from Beijing, did not share this sense of intimacy with the Qing Dynasty. Also, Han peasants had long settled in eastern parts of Inner Mongolia and the governments of the banners had been supported by income from their farmlands. Maintaining this income was another motive of Inner Mongolia to advocate the Qing Dynasty.

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<sup>22</sup> Fu Wei, “Rangguo Yuqian Huiyi Riji,” in *Zhongguo Jindaishi Ziliao Congkan: Xinhai Geming* 8 [Collection of Chinese Modern History Materials, Volume 8] (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1957), 112-114.



## 2. The North-South Conference and *Republic of Five Races*

Starting on December 18, 1911, immediately following the Wuchang Uprising, the North-South Conference between the Qing Dynasty representative, Tang Shaoyi, and the representative of the revolutionaries, Wu Tingfang, was held in Shanghai. Final agreements on the transition from monarchy to republic through the slogan, *Republic of Five Races*, and the inauguration of Yuan Shikai as President were made. Specific terms including the Articles of Favorable Treatment of the Great Qing Emperor and the Articles of Treatment of the Manchurian, Mongolian, Hui, and Tibetans were created following the meeting.

At the time, Japan hoped for the continuation of the Qing Dynasty; Minister Hikokichi Ijuin raised a radical idea to split the Great Qing in two and allow the North Qing to continue the Dynasty. However, Japan's diplomacy failed due to Britain's stake in the Southern revolutionaries' sphere of influence and efforts to settle the situation through introduction of a republic.<sup>23</sup>

Revolutionaries had been insisting on an ethnic, or tribal, revolution under the slogan, "Drive out the Tartar Caitiffs and Restore China (驅除韃虜、恢復中華) ;" the continuation of the Qing Dynasty was unacceptable for them. However, as mentioned in the above comments by Palt, the establishment of a Han-oriented nation exclusive of Manchus would justify the existence of independent Mongol and Tibetan regimes, and China would be separated. Therefore, the concept of *Republic of Five Races* emerged to maintain a unified China while abolishing the Qing Dynasty. Also, it was necessary to assign Yuan Shikai to the presidency, as he was trusted by great powers and could prevent their intervention.

Some view that *Republic of Five Races* was originally developed by Zhang Jian and Yang Du.<sup>24</sup> While most southern revolutionaries did not pay attention to the relationship between the Outlying Regions (Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang) and the Inland, Yang Du and others who worked mainly in Beijing recognized

<sup>23</sup> Ryoju Sakurai, *Shingai Kakumei to Nihon Seiji no Hendou* [Xinhai Revolution and Changes in Japanese Politics] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> Kazutada Kataoka, "Shingaikakumeiki no 'Gozoku Kyouwa Ron' wo Megutte" [On the 'Five Races under One Union' Policy during the Xinhai Revolution], in *Chugoku Kingendaishi no Shomondai: Tanaka Masami Sensei Taikan Kinen Ronshu* [Some Problems in Modern and Contemporary Chinese History: Memorial Volume for Professor Masami Tanaka for His Retirement] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankoukai, 1984). Yujiro Murata, "Chuka Minzokuron no Keihu" [Genealogy of Chinese Race Theory], in *Chukasekai to Kindai* [The Chinese World and the Modern Era] ed. Wataru Iijima, Ryo Kubo, and Yujiro Murata (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2009).

that whether Outlying Regions followed the Chinese Government depended on their relationship with the Qing Emperor. Therefore, revolutionaries gave up the idea of an ethnic revolution and adopted *Republic of Five Races* as a maneuver to transition to a republic while maintaining the unification of the Inland and Outlying Regions. On January 1, 1912, upon assuming the position of Interim President of the Republic of China, Sun Yat-sen declared, "The areas of Han, Manchu, Mongolia, Hui and Tibet consist of one country, and the races of Han, Manchu, Mongolia, Hui and Tibet consist of one people. This is called the unity of the nation." However, Sun Yat-sen criticized the deceptiveness of *Republic of Five Races* in later years and again advocated Tribal Assimilation Theory, as is widely known.

### 3. Mongolia's Reaction to *Republic of Five Races*

#### (1) Reaction of the Bogd Khaan Government

The previous discussion focused on the formation of *Republic of Five Races*. How the peoples included as one of the five races perceived the policy is rarely discussed. It is possible to infer that *Republic of Five Races* did not make sense for Mongolians because they did not see themselves as part of China during the Qing Period. Rather, Mongolia considered the Republic of China as the government of the Han people.

*Republic of China* is translated in Mongolian as *Дундад Иргэн Улс*. *Дундад*, *Иргэн*, and *Улс* represent *middle*, *public*, and *country*, respectively. However, as *public* was almost defined as the *Han people* during the Qing Period, the Republic of China was perceived as the country of the Han people.<sup>25</sup> This was also apparent in negotiations between the Bogd Khaan Government and the Republic of China.

Negotiations between the Bogd Khaan Government and the Republic of China started mainly through the exchange of telegrams. These exchanges have been quoted in many studies, so only portions relevant to this article are quoted here. Quotes are translated from Mongolian to clearly convey the perception of Mongolia at the time. First, in a telegram exchanged between the Secretary General of Internal Affairs of the Republic of China and the Interior Minister of the Bogd Khaan Government, the Secretary General commented on the *Five*

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<sup>25</sup> Qi Xiong Zhang, *Waimeng Zhuquan Guishu Jiaoshe: 1911-1916* [Disputes and Negotiations over Outer Mongolia's National Identity, Unification or Independence, and Sovereignty, 1911-1916] (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo, 1995), 45-46. Currently, Mongolia uses "Бүгд Найрамдах Хятад Ард Улс" as the Mongolian translation of "the People's Republic of China" and "Хятад" as the translation of "China."

*Races* that “it is not appropriate to include the meaning of southern people and northern people, and it is even more inappropriate to categorize people into Manchus, Mongolians, Hui, and Tibetans.” On March 12, 1912, the Interior Minister of the Bogd Khaan Government responded that “Mongolians and the Han people have different philosophies and religions, and they speak different languages. One is in the sky and the other is on the ground. They never become one.”<sup>26</sup> This exchange emphasizes the difference between Mongolians and the Han people without mentioning anything about the *Five Races*.<sup>27</sup>

The Republic of China was claiming the equality of the five races, but this was not necessarily attractive to Mongolian nobles who had various privileges under the Qing Dynasty, as Oka describes. “[Nobles of] Mongolia, represented by the family of Borjigin, were not ideologically positioned as “peripheral,” but they had equal status to nobles of the Imperial Families.”<sup>28</sup>

On April 6, 1912, Bogd Khaan received a telegram from Yuan Shikai, who wrote, “Our president is inseparable from you in establishing the new government with the confederation of five races. We share the same hands and legs just like brothers.” Bogd Khaan replied, “I found that the establishment of the new nation that confederated and formed a union of five races (таван төрлийг нийлүүлэн бүгдээр найралдах) is truly getting the attention of China and foreign countries. However, we Mongolians are extremely different from other races as we live in unsettled borders in this age of competition.”<sup>29</sup> How *Republic of Five Races* was translated in Mongolian in this telegram should be noted. The translation suggests a confederation of five races; the meaning of “republic” as a political system is not conveyed. Also, The People’s Republic of Mongolia, which was formed in 1924, is translated as “Бүгд Найрамдах Монгол Ард Улс,” which differs from the translation of “republic” (бүгдээр найралдах) in the telegram.

In *New History of Mongolia*, written by Magsarjav in 1927, translations for “republic” (бүгд найрамдах) and “republic country” (бүгд найрамдах улс) can be found in Article One, “The Great Qing changes its name to the Federal Republic of China,” of *Proposals for 22 Articles*,<sup>30</sup> which was prepared by Tang

<sup>26</sup> Н. Магсаржав, Монгол улсын шинэ түүх (1994), 18-20.

<sup>27</sup> Hideo Fukamachi, “Chuka Minkoku Seiritsuki no Kokka Touitsu Mondai: Taminzoku Shihai no Seitousei” [Issues of National Unification upon the Establishment of the Republic of China: Legitimacy of Multiethnic Dominance], *Chuo Daigaku Ronshu* 18 [Chuo University Essays 18], (1997): 35.

<sup>28</sup> Hiroki Oka, “Shincho Kokka no Seikaku to Mongoru Oukou” [Characteristics of the Qing Dynasty and Mongolia Nobles], *Shiteki* [Drop of History] 16, (1994): 57.

<sup>29</sup> Magsarjav, 22-24.

<sup>30</sup> Fuguo Yong, “Tang ShaoYi: Weiwan Cheng de “Ershier Tiao” [Tang Shaoyi: 22 Incomplete Articles] *Wenshi Cankao* [History Reference], no. 8 (2011).

Shaoyi for the North-South Conference in 1911.<sup>31</sup> However, there is still room for discussion about how the idea for a republic spread through Mongolia, which at the time was headed by religious leader Jebtsundamba Khutughtu and ruled by Mongolian nobles, the scions of Genghis Khaan.

## (2) Reaction of Inner Mongolian Nobles

How did Inner Mongolia, which eventually recognized the Republic of China, react to *Republic of Five Races*?

On October 28, 1912, the Changchun Conference was held with 23 participants, including nobles from Jirim League in East Inner Mongolia. In the meeting, Jirim League's nobles approved the republic under the condition that Mongolian banners would be maintained, which meant non-expansion of "cultivation areas" and a ban on the establishment of new provinces. After the meeting, participating nobles were promoted in rank.<sup>32</sup>

On January 23, 1913, the Western League Nobles Conference was held with participation by nobles from Ikh Juu League and Ulaanchav League in West Inner Mongolia. During the meeting, several resolutions were made, including the execution of "Support for the Republic," disapproval of a Russo-Mongolian Agreement concluded on November 3, 1912, a request for soldiers to defend key areas of Western Leagues, plans for Mongolians' livelihood and advancement of the education of Mongolian people. At the same time, the following documents expressing disapproval of the Russo-Mongolian agreement were concluded between Imperial Russia and the Bogd Khaan Government: "a telegram to announce that Zasags of Ikh Juu League do not approve of the Russo-Mongolian Agreement;" "a telegram to announce that Zasags of Ulaanchav League do not approve of the Russo-Mongolian Agreement;" and "an Article of Admonishment from Ulaanchav League and Ikh Juu League to Ikh Khüree." The Zasags sealed the letters and a letter of counsel was sent to the Bogd Khaan Government.

On March 20, 1913, about the West League Nobles Conference, Süumberbat, Zasag of Dalad Banner in Ikh Juu League and an Inner Mongolian noble sent a letter to the Bogd Khaan Government, writing wrote that "Suiyuan General Zhang Shaozeng forced us, Zasags of 13 Banners of Ulaanchav and Ikh Juu League to gather in Hohhot several times and write a draft without our consent for how five

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<sup>31</sup> Magsarjav, 15. However, since this part is translated as "бүгд найртай улс" (M170-Д1-ХН636-Н1) in another document at the National Central Archives of Mongolia (Монгол Улсын Үндэсний Төв Архив, hereafter referred to as МУҮТА), Magsarjav may have rewritten it as "бүгд найрамдах," which had been widely used as the translation of "republic."

<sup>32</sup> Wu Liji, "Beiyang Zhengfu Yu Diyici Dongmeng Wanggong Huiyi," *Journal of Inner Mongolia University* (Humanities and Social Science Edition) 32, no. 1 (2000).

races should be unified (таван төрөл найралдуулмуй), and made us seal it.”<sup>33</sup> Galsangrolmawangjiljams, Zasag of Otog Banner, who dispatched a representative in the same meeting, wrote on March 23, “Zasags of Ulaanchav and Ikh Juu Leagues were taken to Suiyuan City by force with Zasags’ seals under the slogan that the five tribes of Han, Mongol, Manchu, Hui and Tibet should be unified like a family (Хятад, Монгол, Манж, Хотон, Төвд зэргийн таван их төрлийг нэгэн гэр мэт болгон найралдуулмуй). We, Mongolian Zasags, were monitored and forced to submit a document to approve that five races are unified (таван төрөл найралдуулах).”<sup>34</sup> They all claimed that their approval of *Republic of Five Races* was forced and expressed the desire to submit to the Bogd Khaan Government.

It should be taken into account that these letters were sent to the Bogd Khaan Government, which had a conflict the Republic of China over the integration of Inner Mongolia, so there is a possibility that they overemphasized the oppression of the Republic of China as a reason to submit to the Bogd Khaan Government. These letters do not necessarily prove that their real motive was submission to the Bogd Khaan Government. However, both Ulaanchav League and Ikh Juu League expressed submission to the Bogd Khaan Government around the time of the West League Conference, so it is reasonable to think they were forced to approve a republic and hard to imagine that they actively supported a republic.

It should also be noted that “таван төрөл найралдуулах”, which is supposed to mean *Republic of Five Races* in these letters, is different from “таван төрлийг нийлүүлэн бүгдээр найралдах,” the phrase used by the Interior Minister in a telegram above. Neither phrase represented the meaning of “republic” as a political system. Also, that the term had no established translation implies that the idea of the republic had not yet taken root in Mongolia.

Also, in a letter to the Bogd Khaan Government on November 27, 1912, Bekhzaya, Zasag of Khishigten Banner in Juu Uda League wrote that “the public created a country called the Republic of China by overthrowing the regime of the Great Qing. They will control the lands and politics of Mongolia, and assimilate Mongolians and Tibetans to the public to make us become their slaves by mobilizing their people.”<sup>35</sup> He claimed that “the public,” which meant the Han people, established the Republic of China by overthrowing the Qing Dynasty and tried to implement an assimilation policy in Mongolia and Tibet. It has often been argued that *Republic of Five Races* assumed the assimilation of other tribes by the Han.<sup>36</sup> At least some Mongolians perceived this idea.

<sup>33</sup> МУҮТА, ФАЗ-Д1-ХН440-Н6.

<sup>34</sup> МУҮТА, ФАЗ-Д1-ХН440-Н17.

<sup>35</sup> МУҮТА, ФАЗ-Д1-ХН347-Н34.

<sup>36</sup> Masumi Matsumoto, *Chugoku Minzoku Seisaku no Kenkyu: Shinmatsu kara 1945-Nen Madeno Minzokuron wo Chushin ni* [Study on China's Ethnic Policy: With a Focus on a

However, Bekhzaya established a relationship with the Republic of China while showing obedience to the Bogd Khaan Government, and sided with China when the Bogd Khaan Government sent troops to Inner Mongolia to fight the Chinese military. In other words, he chose to belong to the Republic of China with the opinion that *Republic of Five Races* was an assimilation policy. This fact illustrates that *Republic of Five Races* did not effectively function as a principle to integrate China. Rather, it attributed to the intent of Mongolian nobles to protect their vested interests and to the success of Yuan Shikai's policy toward Inner Mongolia with military pressure, which will be discussed in the next section.

Although few historical materials written in Mongolian mention *Republic of Five Races*, observations above show that none referred to "republic" as a political body. The Bogd Khaan Government only emphasized differences between the Han and Mongolians, while the nobles of Inner Mongolia who accepted a republic insisted that it was forced on them. Also, it can be argued that there were different understandings of *Republic of Five Races* within Mongolia, as some nobles regarded it as an assimilation policy. This issue, as well as other areas such as Tibet, should be further discussed in its relation to the effectiveness of *Republic of Five Races*.

#### **4. Yuan Shikai and the Bogd Khaan Government: Over Inner Mongolia**

##### **(1) Yuan Shikai's Policy toward Inner Mongolia**

On February 12, 1912, the Qing Emperor abdicated in return for preferential treatment for the imperial family, and on March 10, Yuan Shikai replaced Sun Yat-sen as Interim President. As part of "Mongolia" had already declared independence from the Qing Dynasty, the abdication of the Emperor and transition to a republic were irrelevant. However, a part of "Mongolia" that had sought the continuation of the Qing Dynasty with a constitutional monarchy, such as Güngsangnorbu and other nobles in Beijing, and the other part of "Mongolia" that had left options open were forced to make choices at this point. Their options were either to join the Republic of China, join the independence movement of the Bogd Khaan Government, or start a new movement to realize the independence or autonomy of Inner Mongolia alone. Of course, their reactions were closely related with the policies of both the Bogd Khaan Government and the Republic of China.

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Theory of Ethnic Groups from the End of the Qing Dynasty to 1945] (Tokyo: Taga Shuppan, 1999).



Yuan Shikai set up the Mongolian and Tibetan Secretariat, which took over the administration of the former Lifan Yuan on August 1, 1912, and implemented policies to make peace with Mongolian nobles (mainly of Inner Mongolia) and make them approve of the Republic by protecting their vested interests. Yuan Shikai made the Senate deliberate on conditions of treatment of Mongolia, which consisted of eleven articles drafted by Nayant and other members of the Federation of Mongolian Nobles. The "Articles on Treatment of Mongolians" were consisting of nine of these articles, were promulgated on August 19, 1912. These articles granted Mongolian nobles the following: the right to govern their original jurisdictions (Article 2); privileges of nobilities and banners (Article 3); payments for nobilities (Article 7); and other rights they had enjoyed during the Qing Period. This preferential treatment suggests that Mongolian nobles in Beijing who had insisted on the continuation of the Qing Dynasty approached Yuan Shikai to maintain their vested interests while Yuan Shikai utilized them to make Mongolia join the Republic of China. Güngsangnorbu, who had defended the Qing Dynasty after the 1911 Revolution and was intensely opposed to a republic, was appointed as Chairman of the Mongolian and Tibetan Secretariat on September 9, 1912.

Yuan Shikai also implemented *Jiajin Shizang Gonghe zhi Menggu Gezhasake Wanggong Fengjue* on September 20, 1912, which was to promote the nobles who approved of the Republic by one rank, and sent an envoy to Inner Mongolia to convince them to submit to the Republic of China. As mentioned, Yuan Shikai held a meeting gathering Jirim League's nobles in Changchun on October 28, 1912, and invited Ulaanchav, Ikh Juu League's nobles to the West League Nobles Conference on January 23, 1913 to make them approve of the Republic.

However, Yuan Shikai did not only use appeasement policies but also used armed forces to quash rebellions when Udai, Zasag of Khorchin Right Wing Front Banner of Jirim League, declared the "Independence of East Mongolia" and attacked Taonanfu on August 20 with Rashminjüür, Zasag of Khorchin Right Wing Rear Banner, as well as when Gombojav from Jaruud Left Banner of Juu Uda League initiated an armed uprising and occupied Kailu County with Tümen-Ulzii. Some argue that Mongolian nobles gradually accepted *Republic of Five Races* as a result of an active campaign by the Revolutionary Party,<sup>37</sup> but favorable conditions that explicitly supported the vested interests and threat by force were more significant to the decisions of Mongolian nobles.

For Inner Mongolia, which was close in proximity to the Inland and had a

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<sup>37</sup> Hua Guoliang and Dai Feng, "Minguo Chunian Menggu Wanggong dui Wuzu Gonghe Zhengce de Minzu Rentong," *Journal of Jiangsu Normal University* (Philosophy, Social Science Edition) 29, no. 2 (2003).



large Han population, it was almost impossible to deviate from China, so the Mongolian nobles in Beijing who defended the Qing Dynasty and some Inner Mongolians who had not decided their positions gradually accepted the Republic in return for these favorable conditions. It seems that those who shifted from defending the Qing Dynasty to supporting the Republic did not sympathize with the independence of Mongolia. However, the actual situation was not that simple.

Interestingly, the following people submitted to the Bogd Khaan Government and were subsequently promoted in rank: Amarlinggui, Zasag of Khorchin Left Wing Rear Banner of Jirim League, who had been a key member of the Federation of Mongolian Nobles and turned out to support a republic after the abdication of the Qing Emperor; Güngsangnorbu, Zasag of Kharchin Right Banner of Josot League, who was appointed Chairman of the Mongolian and Tibetan Secretariat; and Selengnamjilwangbuu, Zasag of Tümed Left Banner of Josot League, Bazargardi, Zasag of Ar Khorchin Banner of Juu Uda League, and Jagar, Zasag of Baarin Right Banner of Juu Uda League, who were promoted in rank by *Jiajin Shizang Gonghezhi Menggu Gezhasake Wanggong Fengjue* on October 1, 1912. Bekhzaya, Zasag of Khishigten Banner of Juu Uda League, cited in the previous section, was not an exception. This shows how Inner Mongolian nobles and Mongolian nobles in Beijing forced to choose “independence” or a “republic” showed obedience to both the Republic of China and the Bogd Khaan Government to wait and see how the situation would develop.

## **(2) Bogd Khaan Government's Policy toward Inner Mongolia**

The Bogd Khaan Government, born through its declaration of independence from the Qing Dynasty, initiated many actions toward Inner Mongolia and other areas in pursuit of the unification of Mongolia, which was under the territory of the Qing Dynasty. In West Outer Mongolia, Kovdo was occupied by the Mongolian Army in August, 1912, and Dörvöd was put under control of the Bogd Khaan Government, as its noble expressed submission to the Government. Also, many Inner Mongolian nobles came to express submission to the Bogd Khaan Government after the abdication of the Qing Emperor. The Bogd Khaan Government also assured the noble ranks of Mongolian nobles, promoted those who expressed obedience, and sometimes took forceful measures including arresting nobles who did not take a stand. In other words, the Bogd Khaan Government used the same policy as Yuan Shikai, and the similarities of their policies toward Inner Mongolia illustrate Mongolian nobles' principles of behavior at this time.

In general, when discussing the reaction of Inner Mongolia to Mongolian independence, most Inner Mongolians are said to have joined the independence

movement because 35 out of 49 banners of Inner Mongolia submitted to the Bogd Khaan Government. However, the number of banners that expressed submission does not necessarily reflect the actual reaction of Inner Mongolia at the time due to the Bogd Khaan Government's policy of forced submission including the arrest of Inner Mongolian nobles.

For example, Shilin Gol League was sometimes considered to have actively participated in the independence movement because all ten banners of the league expressed submission to the Bogd Khaan Government. However, while only Right and Left Banners of Khuuchid expressed submission to the Government from the beginning, remaining banners showed submission only after the chief of the League, Yangsang, had been captured by the Bogd Khaan Government Army. Those banners received a letter from the Bogd Khaan Government pressing for submission, and Yangsang ordered banners in the League to express submission.<sup>38</sup>

While the Republic of China and the Bogd Khaan Government fiercely fought over the unification of Inner Mongolia, some parts submitted to the Republic and others submitted to the Bogd Khaan Government. Moreover, some banners had extremely complicated situations in which two powers existed within the same banner or one banner submitted to both governments. It is not possible to explain the situation at the time through a simple dichotomy of Inner Mongolia between "Mongolia" and "China" after observing the submission of Mongolian nobles to the Bogd Khaan Government. It is certain that Zasags led actions in some banners, but some chose to submit to the Bogd Khaan Government to fight Zasags who expressed submission to the Republic of China. In other words, the reactions of Inner Mongolian nobles were varied.

For example, Bekhzaya, Zasag of Khishigten Banner of Juu Uda League, was officially appointed as Zasag by both the Bogd Khaan Government and the Republic of China, but the Bogd Khaan Government also appointed another Zasag named Rolgorjav in Khishigten Banner. This means that two Zasags were present at the same time. The two had fought over the Zasag succession after the previous Zasag had passed in the late Qing Period, and Rolgorjav, who lost the fight, resorted to the authority of the Bogd Khaan Government to confront Bekhzaya.<sup>39</sup> Similar cases can be observed in other banners in Inner Mongolia.

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<sup>38</sup> Refer to Chapter 6 in Makoto Tachibana, *Bogudo Haan Seiken no Kenkyu: Mongoru Kenkokushi Josetsu 1911-1921* [Study on the Bogd Khaan Government: History of State-Building in Mongolia, 1911-1921], (Tokyo: Kazama Shobo, 2011).

<sup>39</sup> Refer to Chapter 10 in Tachibana, *Bogudo Haan Seiken no Kenkyu: Mongoru Kenkokushi Josetsu 1911-1921* [Study on the Bogd Khaan Government: History of State-Building in Mongolia, 1911-1921].

### **(3) Dual Governance Structure in Inner Mongolia**

The conflict between Mongolia and China over the unification of Inner Mongolia presents the difference in governing principles of the two parties. For China, Mongolia was a part of its territory, and the submission of Inner Mongolian nobles to the Bogd Khaan Government meant the submission of the banners controlled by those nobles and the loss of the territory. For the Bogd Khaan Government, the submission of Inner Mongolian nobles primarily meant the submission of Mongolian nomads controlled by those nobles which would not directly result in the acquisition of the territory.

This argument is backed up by the fact that the Bogd Khaan Government appointed two Zasags in one banner at the same time and given that Zasags who had submitted to the Bogd Khaan Government continues to use the same banner name even after migrating to Outer Mongolia with their people. The Bogd Khaan Government considered Shilin Gol League's Khuuchid Left Banner as under control because its Zasag, Selnentoijil, had migrated to Outer Mongolia with 323 families of 1,491 people and its belonging was changed from Shilin Gol League to Setsen Khan aimag of Khalkha. Meanwhile, the Republic of China appointed Selnentoijil's brother, Songjinwangchig, as Khuuchid Left Banner's Zasag and continued to regard Khuuchid Left Banner as part of its territory. The actual situations in these cases should be further discussed, but they illustrate the difference in the two parties' governance principles.<sup>40</sup> It is also supported by the fact that Bogd Khaan attempted to subject Qinghai, which was considered an enclave from the perspective of the modern territorial sovereign state, by giving seals to Mongolian nobles of Qinghai.<sup>41</sup>

The dual submission of many Inner Mongolian nobles to the Republic of China and the Bogd Khaan Government affected the historiography of Inner Mongolia. The discussion here allows for the possibility of only emphasizing submission to the Republic of China as well as the possibility of only emphasizing submission to the Bogd Khaan Government. Neither position is wrong, but also neither accurately represents history. In such cases, scholars tend to take a position favorable to them and criticize others even if their arguments are very similar in nature. Therefore, it is important to clarify that the facts surrounding the reaction of "Mongolia" during and after the 1911 Revolution were varied and changed over time, as discussed in this article.

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<sup>40</sup> Refer to Chapter 13 in Tachibana, *Bogud Haan Seiken no Kenkyu: Mongoru Kenkokushi Josetsu 1911-1921* [Study on the Bogdo Khaan Government: History of State-Building in Mongolia, 1911-1921].

<sup>41</sup> Makoto Tachibana, "Bogd Khaan Government and Qinghai Mongols," 50th Annual Meeting of the Mongolia Society, Bloomington, July 13, 2011.

## Conclusion

After the 1911 Revolution, the Republic of China basically succeeded the territory of the Qing Dynasty, and now the People's Republic of China holds the territory of the Republic of China, except for Taiwan. Amid this development, Mongolia became the only independent nation not included as part of "China" among the territory of the Qing Dynasty, which is significant in the history of East Asia. As for reasons that its territory ended up only with Outer Mongolia and not a whole "Mongolia" during the Qing period, international relations at the time were surely a factor, but also the various reactions of "Mongolia" to the 1911 Revolution must be taken into account. As stated repeatedly in this article, there was no unified action taken by "Mongolia" or "Inner Mongolia." Therefore, though it may sound paradoxical, there is a risk of misunderstanding the actual reaction of "Mongolia" to the 1911 Revolution if one is obsessed with the categorization of "Mongolia" or "Inner Mongolia." Detailed analyses on each of those various reactions and identification of their causes will be required in future studies.

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